

FINDS SOVIET RULE FAILURE

Communist Who Left the United States to Enjoy Benefit of Lenine's Theories Now Realizes His Mistake—Russian Trade May Be Stagnant for Years

THE writer of the dispatch which follows is well known to readers of THE NEW YORK HERALD. Capt. Francis McCullagh, now again observing the course of events in Russia for this newspaper, is the correspondent who in March, 1921, startled the world by cabling to THE



CAPT. FRANCIS McCULLAGH

NEW YORK HERALD exclusive news of the renunciation of Bolshevism by Nikolai Lenine. Capt. McCullagh's dispatch, which was printed on March 19, was a report of a remarkable speech made by Lenine to the Tenth Communist Congress in Moscow. Lenine said, in brief, that the idea of world revolution was madness, that Russia could not progress without foreign assistance and that she must make agreements with capitalist governments.

Publication of this news was a shock not only to newspapers whose correspondents were less alert and well informed but to official circles as well. For three days denials proceeded from "well informed quarters." Ultimately, however, Secretary of State Hughes and Premier Lloyd George publicly confirmed the correctness of THE NEW YORK HERALD's information.

Capt. McCullagh has now returned to Russia, where his familiarity with the language gives him exceptional advantages for obtaining exclusive news. He will send to THE

NEW YORK HERALD articles by cable and by mail at frequent intervals. Some of this material has already arrived and will be published immediately. To-day's contribution tells of the disillusionment of a Communist, educated in the United States, who went to Soviet Russia to find the ideal state of society which his theories led him to believe existed there. He was cruelly disappointed and wishes he had known when he was well off.

By CAPT. FRANCIS McCULLAGH.
Special Correspondence to THE NEW YORK HERALD.
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WHILE waiting at Kovno for the repair of the airplane which started with me for Moscow yesterday, but which broke down here, I met a specimen of a fraternity which is now getting fairly numerous on the confines of Red Russia—I mean the disappointed Communist who has worked for Lenine and now is tired of him. I don't see anything in his fascinating theories.

He was a Lithuanian called Anopheus Karalas, an engineer by profession, 30 years of age, though he looked considerably younger, and evidently a well informed and competent man. Karalas left Lithuania young, lived a year and a half in Liverpool, England, and spent thirteen years in the United States. He entered Valparaiso University, Indiana, in 1911, and remained there till 1915, after which he entered the Tri-State University, Indiana, which he left in 1916, after having taken the electrical engineering course there. Getting employment in the Edison Company, he was arrested by the American police for his Communist activities and made to give \$2,000 bail, for he was at that time a pronounced Communist; and in 1920 he returned to Lithuania, having probably been deported by the American Government, though he does not say so.

On Sept. 25, 1920, he entered Moscow on behalf of the American Society of Technical Aid for Soviet Russia; but a year's residence in Russia cured him completely of Communism, and now he is leading a peaceful bourgeois life on his little estate in Lithuania. He has found time to organize a battalion of Lithuanian Boy Scouts and also to write one of the most crushing exposures of Russian Communism in practice that has ever been written. Karalas saw Lenine in April, 1921, and describes the Red Dictator as having been then, according to all appearances, in thoroughly robust health. He addressed a rousing speech to the Communist Committee of which Karalas was then a member, and nothing in his words or his manner gave any indication of the incurable illness which was so soon to strike him down. That illness was the same as that which carried off Lord Northcliffe, and the seeds of it were probably sown in both cases by overwork. Karalas also saw Trotsky about the same time, and formed a high idea of his energy and capacity. Contrary to most observers of Russian politics, he thinks that Trotsky is very anxious for Soviet Russia to come to terms as soon as possible with foreign capitalists. This is due to the fact that Trotsky is now interested financially in a good many companies which have been formed in accordance with the new Soviet laws regarding commercial enterprises; and, being a shrewd man, he sees that, without the speedy assistance of foreign capital, these companies cannot succeed.

Northeva, Under Suspicion.
Was Sent to Prison
Among other prominent Bolsheviks with whom Karalas associated in Moscow was Northeva, the Finnish Bolshevik about whom there was a good deal of discussion in the summer of 1920, when Krasin first went to London. On that occasion Northeva, who was in Canada, wanted to join Krasin, but was arrested by the British authorities, who announced their intention of sending him to Finland, where he would undoubtedly be imprisoned, if not put to death. Finally the Russian Government prevailed on Downing Street to send Northeva to Moscow instead, and in Moscow Northeva worked for a time in the People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs.

WO PRETENDERS TO RUSSIAN CROWN DIVIDE THEIR MONARCHIST FOLLOWING

Grand Duke Cyril Recently Asserted His Rights to the Throne, Subject to the Possible Reappearance of Prince Michel, Supposedly Dead

By SANFORD GRIFFITH.
Special Correspondence to THE NEW YORK HERALD.
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RUSSIAN monarchists have discovered that the strength of the Soviet Government lies in their members subordinating personal differences to conform to Communist party discipline. The monarchists who until this year have been divided into a dozen different factions have now agreed to bury their particular differences as far as necessary to present a united front to the outside world. They formed a Central Monarchist committee in Munich after their conference last fall, and have agreed to work together at least as long as anti-monarchist Governments remain in power in Russia.

The two pretenders and candidates to the throne of Russia are cousins of the Czar, both Romanoffs. One of these is Cyril Vladimirovitch and the other Dmitry Pavlovitch. Each has about an equally valid claim to the throne. Cyril recently issued a proclamation asserting his rights but with the reservation that he would not seek the throne should Prince Michel, brother of the Czar, still be alive. What happened to Prince Michel never been known. The Bolsheviks assert that he was killed in the revolution, but have never supplied details where or how.

His mother, the aged Maria Feodorovna of Denmark, imagines him still alive and sees him as the logical successor to the throne despite his plebeian marriage to the daughter of a Moscow lawyer.

It was doubtless out of consideration for her rather than because of any real belief in his being alive that Prince Cyril mentioned Prince Michel.

Czar's Uncle Not Eager

To Claim the Crown

There is a mistaken notion that the Russian monarchists want to put Gen. Nikolai Nikolaievitch, uncle of the late Czar, on the throne. He has still wide popularity and is highly esteemed in Russian monarchist circles. But he is now a man well over sixty, and distinctly feeble. He himself is not eager for the job. He has stated definitely that he will not accept appointment from the Russian refugees outside of Russia. Only the will of the Russian people he has said will decide him to accept this post. Monarchists assert that this has already been given by a popular vote in the white Russian

circles, especially in court ones. His sleep for weeks in some derelict goods trucks on a rusty and grass grown siding. After that they were transferred to a cold, damp and ruinous barrack with holes in the roof and no glass in any of the windows, and at this stage the "reception committee" faded away and the Communists from America seemed to be utterly forgotten by the people whom they had come to help.

Karalas did his best to get things going, but the collapse of the whole machinery of social life in Moscow was at that time so complete that his best amounted to nothing. Moreover, Bolshevik red tape tied up everybody and everything in so many knots that nothing could be done.

Newcomers Were Not

Welcome as Workers

When an attempt was made to start the returned Communists on engineering work the middle became even more hopeless. The Bolshevik trade unions were hostile and objected to the newcomers doing any work at all. In short, the middle was awful, intolerable and impossible, so that the hungry and bitterly disappointed Americans took to selling the machine tools they had brought with them and skedaddling right and left. Some of the skilled mechanics among them got jobs as hospital assistants. Motorists got into Government offices as clerks, factory hands obtained employment as unskilled laborers, and every one of them cursed Communism with a fervor that could not be surpassed by the most violent anti-Bolshevik in America, and tried in vain to get out of the Communist paradise.

Came From America,

but Was Disillusioned

Karalas gave me an interesting account of the arrival in Russia, a year or two ago, of large numbers of American Social workers, only very few of whom, however, were Americans, most of them being Russians and Lithuanians settled in America. Twenty-five thousand of these enthusiasts came from the States in the fall and summer of 1920, but there was only one American engineer among them and he soon became very disgusted with the Soviet way of doing business, and the Moscow Government toward the Social-Revolutionary conspirators, whom it recently condemned despite the protest of all Socialism in the outside world.

The same change has since taken place in the case of the American workmen, who came at the same time, and there is not one of the Russian workers who came on that occasion from America that has retained any faith in the principles of Karl Marx. Most of them, like Karalas himself, would give all they possess to be back in America again and able to call themselves United States citizens. Before they arrived in Russia those immigrants were very enthusiastic about Communism, but the change in their views began before they had been twenty-four hours in Moscow. At the Nikolaiev railway station they found Karalas awaiting them. He had just been asked by the Supreme Council of National Economy to organize a reception committee, but there was no food and no lodging awaiting them, and they were left to



GRAND DUKE CYRIL VLADIMIROVITCH GRAND DUKE DMITRY PAWLOVITCH

Government in Vladivostok. But Gen. Nicholai does not propose to make an open move until he sees more clearly which way things are turning. The monarchist parties, however, have agreed that he is the only man to take over the regency until a decision is made as to who the sovereign finally will be. The two pretenders Dmitry and Cyril agreed to the same principle, that is, only to accept the crown when the Russian people seek it. But the will of the people, as all three of them see it, would not be through a Duma nor a popular assembly in the western sense of a universal suffrage. They would reintroduce a replica of the old Sobor, the last of which met in 1613 and which then elected the Romanoffs to become the reigning house of All the Russias. Such a Sobor would give the various estates, nobles, clergy and peasants, as in France before the revolution, each its own representatives. It is easy to imagine too that the first two stages would have a preponderant voice in the final choice.

This is indicated in the sort of differences which to-day divide the Russian monarchists among themselves. Cyril, for example, is regarded by many monarchists as disqualified for the throne because there is an article in the old Russian code which provides that the parents of the Czar must be members of the Orthodox Church. As many of the Romanoffs, Vladimir, Cyril's father, married a German princess. But she, differing from the late Czarina, did not change from the Protestant faith to the Orthodox Church. This would eliminate Cyril in the eyes of the old orthodox believers. Prince Cyril, perhaps feeling uncertain in his claim, seems to have departed somewhat from the common pact to await for the decision of a Sobor, because recently he made a formal proclamation announcing his claim to the throne.

Cyril is not liked in old monarchist circles, especially in court ones. His record shows him to be an opportunist rather than the out and out conservative or liberal. In the late war Cyril was a commander of the Guard marines. When the revolution broke out and the provisional Government was set up Cyril overnight sought to adapt himself to the new order of things. He marched his marines over to the Winter Palace and declared allegiance to the new Government. This was an act which many good Russian monarchists regard as an unpardonable betrayal of the Romanoffs. Incidentally he was one of the few passengers saved on a Russian cruiser sunk by the Japanese in the early part of the Russian-Japanese war.

Dmitry, on the other hand, fulfills most of the requirements of the Russian monarchists. Many years before the war, when it was uncertain whether the son of the Czar would ever reign, Dmitry was regarded as a possible successor to Michel. Dmitry is popular as one of the conspirators with Prince Yousouff, who participated in breaking up the fantastic camarilla about Rasputin, sharing in his assassination. He has never mixed much in politics, but has let it be understood that he stands pretty much for all the principles of divine rights which the house of Romanoff and its supporters have always represented.

Neither of these pretenders to the crown of All the Russias can be said to represent a definite political program which can be classified specifically as conservative or liberal. Allegiance is divided even inside the various monarchist parties. The Russian monarchist movement are two very distinct tendencies which may be defined as absolutist monarchist and constitutionalist monarchist. In the circles of the absolutists are the remnants of the court, the old land owners who have lost their property and most of the officers of the old army. Their ideal can be summed up as a return to the old order.

all these schemes have now been abandoned. The Bolshevik experts not only failed to start new electrical enterprises, for which their predecessors had left them all the data, but even failed to keep in repair the electrical works which had been established under the old regime and had been working well.

I asked Karalas if the Bolsheviks cannot change completely to a capitalist system, but he says that though they are trying hard to do so they cannot. They must be a complete overturn of the Soviet system, he says. Even if they allow the old factory owners to return, those owners can do nothing, for their machinery is rusty and damaged and they have no money to spend on repairs, while the Bolshevik Government has no money to lend them. Karalas accordingly thinks that the recognition of its debts by the Soviet Government and the return of the original owners will effect no improvement in the Russian situation, as the Soviet has no money wherewith to pay its debts and the foreign factory owners have no money wherewith to start their factories.

Soviet Has Spent All

Its Hoard of Gold

The Bolshevik Government has now spent practically all its gold and has only fifty million pounds sterling (£50,000,000) of platinum, and jewelry (Crown, Church and confiscated private property), worth perhaps another fifty million. That will not go far, and neither England nor any other country can advance loans to Soviet. England had undertaken at Genoa to finance its own merchants doing Russian trade to the extent of 30,000,000 pounds, and it has now agreed to raise this figure to 90,000,000; but this will only be advanced to approved British concerns. The Russian Moscow Government will therefore find itself in the awkward position of being penniless while British firms establishing themselves in the country will have plenty of money; and its strong and justifiable suspicion that under such an arrangement a Government must eventually lose all moral and material power over its own citizens accounts for the extreme insistence with which at Genoa, Tchitcherine, Litvinov, and Rakovsky claimed a direct loan from Great Britain.

They thought then, and they still think, that such a loan is a matter of life and death to them as a Government. The only scheme of theirs which looks at all hopeful is the Co-Operative Scheme, but, unfortunately, these Co-Operatives are not independent organizations, being completely under the thumb of the Soviet which appoints the majority of the members. The Moscow Government has been advancing gold to them for trading purposes, and through them to establish a system of "Government Capitalism." "Back to capitalism under the aegis of the proletarian dictatorship" is now the cry. A very curious development of Bol-

U. S. IS CHINA'S VALUED FRIEND

Our Unselfishness Is Appreciated in the Orient, Where the Warning "Asia for the Asiatics" is beginning to Be Heard Because of Foreign Encroachment

By RICHARD T. MONCURE.
little but which Gautier and Loti appreciated—a China almost preserved in amber—a moving pageant of Oriental splendor—dignified by philosophy—having felt the impress of Buddha, Mahomet and Christ—but a China which if dismembered, would mean an end to American commerce, for other countries stand hawk eyed, not hampered by Monroe Doctrine restraint—and to this fact the United States owes the cordiality with which its citizens are received in the Far East.

President Roosevelt, a deep student of human nature, with a New Yorker's keen sense of business, tried to corner the Far Eastern commercial prospect by his Panama Canal foresight; for, said he, "The Mediterranean era died with the discovery of America, while the Atlantic era is now at the full tide of its ascendancy; but the Pacific era, destined to be the greatest, is just at its dawn."

Seward Early Realized Importance of Pacific

Seward also fifty years previous had sensed this vast possibility for America in its Alaskan purchase, explaining, "The Pacific Ocean, its islands and vast region beyond, will become the entire theater of events in the world's greater hereafter." The realization of this vision is well appreciated by men like Herbert Hoover, since every day new possibilities arise, which remind one of John Hay's words: "Whoever understands China socially, politically, economically and religiously holds the key to the world's politics for the next five centuries."

But the world war and the fluctuations in the money market resulting therefrom have been felt in China as elsewhere, and she has been shackled by two great powers of the world in language, that is now undergoing a transformation that will bring public libraries to the masses, and her money system, which is terribly hard for a foreigner to grasp and which, not being stabilized, offers opportunity for squeeze which is the key of most Eastern trading.

Great Awakening Sure

to Come in Industry

China herself has high ideals and when her domestic system gives way there will be a great industrial revolution, as in England a century ago, for her women are eager to enter the marts of trade like the American typists and shop girls, and the wonderful success they show when given the opportunity to learn, together with their great patience, promises that as "up-to-date" dappers they have the germ implanted in their imaginations.

When President Harding in his inaugural address said, "We know full well we cannot sell where we do not buy, and we cannot sell successfully where we do not carry," he tapped the root of the shipping problem, since with the Shipping Board rests the future to a great degree of American commerce. The opportunity is there—with the Orient and particularly China—of a new era in the policy of the Shipping Board as to whether America grasps this opportunity of keeping money in the United States. The trouble is, America is so rich in her own possibilities and so vast in area that she has never thought of the sea and foreign fields as England has, and likewise Japan and Holland.

It is understood that we deal on a different basis from England, for whenever the British pound goes there follows the Union Jack with its protection, since the Old Lady of Threadneedle Street is seldom caught napping. The United States must realize that ships can be built on the Clyde cheaper than in our America, and that other vessels can carry cheaper than the American Shipping Board because no last problems regulate their crews to forbid the employment of Malays and Chinese.

The White Peril Already

Dreaded by Asiatics

Americans are exporting their machinery and sending their money to China, where labor problems do not interfere or internal revenue tap the production of factories as in the States; hence the cry already goes up of the "White Peril" in China, and "Asia for the Asiatic."

Meanwhile, wide awake Japan is forging ahead, silently realizing that her ascendancy in trade will mean more to Nippon's wealth than Shantung's political privileges, while hoary China rubs her eyes after a Rip Van Winkle sleep of over 3,000 years. Economic difficulties are not signs of decay in China, but of awakening; she has seemed changeless, colossal, for her possibilities stagger conception.

It is a scene for study and surmise, for no speculations as to the outcome are worth the paper they are written on. The population of China is 400,000,000, which is now doubling that of England, France, Germany, Spain and Belgium, the Netherlands and Italy combined. Not until one has penetrated the interior and seen the hordes of yellow faces, is it possible to realize what might happen if ever these people realize their strength. But the wall of Chinese prejudice like the Great Wall of China has given way in places as a result of the World War. The Allies transported over 200,000 coolies to work in France, these men traveling mostly via Canada—hence they have brought back to China a realization of the big world outside.

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THE factional strife in China that cause political unrest and civil warfare are hardly more than the fights between the kites and crows when compared with the great opportunities for foreign capital in China, since the Far East to-day offers a tremendous market for American products. In the long future China is bound to be the greatest foreign outlet in the world for American enterprise if properly developed.

There are now more than 10,000 miles of railway in China, compared with 6,500 in Japan, and as this facility for travel is operated by foreigners, the safety of foreigners usually is assured despite brigand attacks sometimes on tourists or private efforts to hold up water commerce in the interior. The type of rolling stock as well as the roadbeds are for the most part European, though the dining and freight cars and most of the locomotives of south Manchuria, Pekin and Mukden are of American type, while the average rate is twenty-two miles of speed to the hour.

There are so many signs of China's awakening that it is difficult to label them under any particular head, since new thought and modern ways dovetail with so much that presages change. Millions of dollars' worth of American machinery whirs in Chinese factories. China has also recently sent missions of silk manufacturers to investigate the making of silk in America for the purpose of improving her output. Business and old customs are gradually giving way to the external teachings of Western technique, since the idea prevails that it is best to leave old China alone, morally and culturally, and leave it to trade and medicine to work those reforms that pure missionary zeal alone cannot effect. Our ethics seem rather like "new wine in old bottles."

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